

LAS CASES — AN APPEAL TO THE PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN ON THE CASE OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

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AN
APPEAL
TO THE
Parliament of Great Britain,
ON
THE CASE OF THE
EMPEROR NAPOLEON.
IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

BY
COUNT LAS CASES.

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AVERTISSEMENT

DE

L'Éditeur anglois.

NOTICE

FROM THE

English Editor.

A-PEINE déporté de Ste Hélène, le Comte de las Cases, à son arrivée au Cap de Bonne Espérance, traça à la hâte un projet de pétition au Parlement d'Angleterre, concernant l'illustre prisonnier qu'il venoit de laisser à Longwood. Il l'adressa, en dépit de la surveillance dont il étoit l'objet, à un membre distingué de la législature britannique, en le suppliant de vouloir bien faire donner à cet écrit la contexture et les formes voulues; mais soit qu'il arrivât trop tard pour la session; soit qu'il présentât des inconvénients à celui auquel il étoit adressé; soit enfin qu'il ne lui soit pas parvenu, il n'en a jamais été question.

Des circonstances parti-

As soon as the Count de las Cases reached the Cape of Good Hope, after having been sent away from St. Helena, his first care was to sketch out the heads of a petition to the Parliament of Great Britain, stating the situation of the illustrious captive he had quitted at Longwood. In spite of the strict watch kept over him, he found means to send away this paper to the address of a distinguished member of the British legislature, entreating him to reduce the same to the form requisite for its being presented to Parliament. Whether it arrived too late for the session, or obstacles occurred to the individual who was requested to present it, or whether it never reached its destination, the fact is, nothing has been heard of it up to this day.

Circumstances having,

culières en ayant fait tomber, dès les premiers tems, une copie authentique en nos mains, et voyant qu'on donne aujourd'hui à divers documents de la même source une publicité que la discussion de la Chambre des Communes du 14 Mai dernier avoit rendu indispensable; nous n'hésitons pas de notre côté à publier cette pièce, sans crainte d'être désavouée par celui qui la traça; parceque nous ne sommes guidés en cela que par l'unique intention de servir ses vues, en faisant parvenir cet écrit à la connoissance de nos représentans, au moment, surtout, où leur réunion prochaine offre plus de chances pour qu'il soit pris par eux en haute et digne considération.

Pour plus d'exactitude, nous avons cru devoir conserver le texte original à côté de notre traduction.

Londres, 9^{bre} 1818.

from the first, placed in our hands an authentic copy of this paper, and seeing that publicity has been given to other documents derived from the same source, a publicity rendered indeed indispensable by the nature and turn of the discussions in the House of Commons on the 14th of May last; we feel no hesitation in publishing the present, and are without fear of being disavowed by the author of it, since we are influenced by the sole desire of forwarding his views in causing its contents to come to the knowledge of our representatives, at a moment when their impending meeting offers the most probable chance of its being taken into consideration.

London, 9th Oct. 1818.

PROJET
DE
PETITION
AU

Parlement d'Angleterre.

Cape de Bonne Esperance, 1817.

UN simple individu, un foible étranger, ose élever sa voix au milieu de vous, Représentans du Peuple d'Angleterre; mais il vous invoque au nom de l'humanité, de la justice, au nom de votre gloire. Parleroit-il en vain? Pourroit-il n'être pas écouté?

Jeté hors de St. Hélène; enlevé d'auprès du plus grand monument des vicissitudes humaines qui fut jamais, je me traîne vers vous pour vous peindre sa situation, ses souffrances.

DRAUGHT
OF
A PETITION
TO
THE PARLIAMENT
OF
Great Britain.

Cape of Good Hope, 1817.

A HUMBLE individual, a helpless stranger, dares to raise his voice in the midst of you, the representatives of the people of Great Britain. His call upon you is in the name of humanity, of justice, and of your own glory. Shall he call in vain? Shall he not be heard?

Cast out from St. Helena, forced away from the side of him who stands the greatest monument of human vicissitudes, that the world has ever yet presented; I have struggled to approach you, that I may set before you the picture of his situation and sufferings.

Arraché soudainement d'auprès de lui, et sans qu'il ait été possible de le prévoir; privé de toute communication, mes paroles, mes idées, ne seront que de moi : elles n'auront d'autre source que mon cœur. Peut-être l'âme altière de celui qui en est l'objet s'irritera-t-elle de la démarche que j'entreprends en ce moment; pensant qu'ici bas, il ne doit, il ne peut appeler de ses griefs qu'à Dieu seul. Peut-être me demandera-t-il, qui m'a commis les soins et le bien-être de sa vie? N'importe. Mon amour pour lui aura causé ma faiblesse. Je me sens déjà trop loin de son héroïque influence; mon cœur ne peut plus renfermer les maux dont il a été le témoin : ils s'ouvrent un passage, ils m'arrachent des cris.

Vous avez banni dans les déserts de l'océan, celui dont la magnanime confiance venoit *librement* et *par choix* vivre au milieu de vous sous la protection de vos lois qu'il avoit cru toutes puissantes.

Torn suddenly away from his presence, without its being possible for me to foresee such event; deprived of all communication with him; my words, my ideas, can be only my own; they flow from no other source than my heart. Perhaps the lofty soul of him who is the object of them, may feel offended by the measure now taken; thinking, that here below he neither ought or could appeal for the redress of his injuries, but to God alone. He may perhaps demand of me, who has intrusted to me the care and guardianship of his life and interests?—It matters not. My love of him will have been the cause of my fault. I already feel that I am too far beyond the influence of his heroic soul; my heart is no longer able to confine within itself the evils it has witnessed; they force an utterance, and extort these complaints from me.

You have banished to deserts, surrounded by the ocean, him whose high-minded confidence induced him to come *freely* and *of his own choice* to live in the midst of you, under the protection of your

Sans doute vous ne cherchâtes dans votre détermination que ce qui vous sembloit utile? Vous ne prétendîtes pas être justes? autrement on vous demanderoit: qui l'avoit mis en votre pouvoir? qui vous avoit donné le droit de le juger? Sur quoi l'avez-vous condamné? Qui avez-vous entendu dans sa défense? Mais vous avez porté une loi . . . elle existe, je la respecte. Je ne suis point qualifié pour discuter le principe. Je contiens tout murmure; mon protest ne sortira pas de mon cœur. Vous n'entendrez ici que les maux dont on accompagne vos décisions, et contre vos intentions sans doute.

Représentans de la Grande Bretagne, vous avez dit ne vouloir que vous assurer de la personne de l'Empereur Napoléon, et garantir sa détention. Cet objet rempli, vous avez entendu qu'on prodiguât tout ce qui pourroit adoucir, al-

laws, which he had been taught to believe were all-powerful. In the decision you came to, you cannot deny but that you have had in view only that which appeared the most suitable to your own interests. You could never have intended to be just; otherwise you would be asked, who placed him in your power? Who constituted you his judges? Upon what grounds have you condemned him? Who have you heard in his defence? But a law has been passed by you . . . it is in force; I respect it. I am not qualified to discuss the principle of it. I shall not allow a single murmur to escape me; my protest shall be confined to my own breast. You shall only learn from me the evils which have accompanied your decision; evils, without doubt, contrary to your intentions.

Representatives of Great Britain, you have said that you only wished to ensure yourselves of the person of the Emperor Napoleon, and warrant his safe custody. That object being fulfilled, it was your intention that every thing should

léger ce que vous avez pensé l'œuvre, l'obligation de la politique : tels ont été l'esprit, la lettre de vos lois, les expressions de vos débats, les vœux de votre nation, les sentiments de son honneur. Eh-bien il n'est parvenu à l'illustre Captif sur son affreux rocher, que la partie sévère de vos intentions : heureux, toutefois encore, si elles n'avoient pas été dépassées. Mais les nuages qui couronnent son île sont moins épais et moins sombres que les peines morales et phisiques qu'on amoncelle sur sa tête. Sous le prétexte vain d'apprehensions purement imaginaires, chaque jour a vu de nouvelles restraints. Son ame fière a dévoré chaque jour de nouveaux outrages. Tout exercice lui est devenu impossible ; toutes visites, toutes conversations se sont trouvées à-peu-près interdites. Ainsi les privations de toute espèce, les contrariétés de toute nature, se joignent pour lui à l'insalubrité mortelle d'un climat tout à la fois humide et brulant ; à la fade monotonie d'un ciel sans couleurs ni saisons. On ressère à chaque instant d'une manière effrayante le

be done that could ameliorate and soften what you looked upon as an act of political necessity : such were the letter of your laws, the expressions of your debates, the wishes of the nation, and the sense of its honour. Well, then, nothing has reached the illustrious Captive, upon his frightful rock, but the severe part of your intentions : happy indeed for him would it have been, if even this had not been exceeded. But the clouds that envelope his abode are less dark and gloomy than the mental and bodily afflictions which have been heaped upon his devoted head. Under the vain pretence of apprehensions, plainly fantastical, each succeeding day witnesses some new restraint upon him. Each day his high mind has some fresh outrage to sustain. All exercise is now made impossible for him ; all visits, all conversation, have been nearly put a stop to. Thus are privations of every kind, and obstacles of every nature added to the deadly unhealthiness of a climate, at once both damp and scorching ; to the in-

cercle de sa vie. Il est réduit à garder sa chambre. On va lui donner la mort.

Avez-vous donc voulu toutes ces choses? non sans doute; et quels motifs pourroient les justifier? La crainte d'une évasion? Mais qu'on réunisse des militaires, des marins, des juges capables! qu'on consulte leurs lumières! qu'on s'instruise de leurs opinions! et qu'on cesse de livrer un tel objet à l'arbitraire d'un seul homme, qui, pouvant prendre ses terreurs pour guide, ne s'occupera chaque jour qu'à combattre jusqu'aux phantomes que pourra lui créer son imagination frappée; sans songer qu'il ne peut détruire toutes les chances, et parvenir à la dernière qu'en donnant la mort. A Longwood on tient toute évasion pour impossible, on n'y songe pas. Certes chacun y voudroit accomplir l'entreprise au prix de sa vie. La mort

insipid and wearisome monotony of a sky, in which neither the variation of colour or season are to be discerned. Every day they draw closer and closer, in a frightful degree, the narrow circle within which his life goes round. He is now reduced to keep his room. The death blow will soon be given

Was it your intention that all these things should take place? Doubtlessly not; for what motives could justify them? The fear of an escape? Only call together the officers of land and sea, those the most capable of judging!—let them be consulted!—let their opinion be heard!—and let not such an object be any longer left to the guidance of the arbitrary will of a single man, who being enabled to take his own terrors for his rule, may occupy himself, day after day, combating every phantom his panic-struck imagination can raise, without reflecting that the last chance cannot, after all, be fenced out but by the death of the captive. At Longwood escape is believed to be out of the question; it is never look-

paroitroit douce pour un si glorieux résultat. Mais comment tromper des officiers en constante surveillance, échapper à des soldats bordant le rivage; descendre des rocs à pic, se jeter pour ainsi dire à la nage dans le vaste océan; franchir une première ligne de bateaux, une seconde de vaisseaux de guerre; lorsqu'on est dominé de tous les sommets, qu'on peut être environné, suivi de signaux à chaque instant, et dans toutes les directions. Et sur quelles embarquations se hasarderait-on? Il n'en existe point à portée du rivage. Sur quel bâtiment chercheroit-on un refuge? Il n'en est de près, ni de loin. Tout étranger, tout national même devient la proie de vos croiseurs, s'ils s'approchent sans d'urgents motifs de l'île maudite.

Avec de telles précautions et de telles circonstances, l'île entière n'est-elle donc pas une prison suffisamment sûre? devroit-il être nécessaire d'y encercler sans cesse des pri-

ed to. There can be no doubt but that every one there would accomplish the adventure at the price of his life. Death would be sweet in the attainment of so glorious a result. But how are we to deceive the officers constantly on the watch; escape the soldiers which line the shore; descend the pointed rocks; throw ourselves into the midst of the vast ocean; clear a first line of boats, and a second of men of war, while we are overlooked from all the heights, can be surrounded, and followed by signals at every step and in every direction. To what vessels are we to trust ourselves? There is not one within reach of the shore. In what ship could we take shelter? There are none, far or near. Every foreign vessel, and even those of your own nation, are made the prey of your cruizers, if they approach, without the most pressing motives, the accursed island.

Under such circumstances, and with such precautions, the whole island is surely of itself a sufficient prison? Can it be necessary to be continually forming circles within

sons dans des prisons? Et si, ce qui est impossible, tant de difficultés pouvoient être vaincues, l'immensité des mers, la presque totalité des terres ne demeureraient-elles pas encore une nouvelle prison?

Or, qui pourroit porter des hommes dans leur bon sens à rêver d'aussi ridicules efforts? qui pourroit induire dans Longwood à des pensées si follement désespérées. Aussi l'Empereur Napoléon en est toujours aux mêmes projets, aux mêmes desirs qu'il exprima lorsqu'il vint avec confiance *librement et de bonne foi* au milieu de vous, "Une retraite et du repos sous la protection de vos lois positives ou de celles de l'Amérique." Voilà ce qu'il vouloit, voilà ce qu'il veut encore: ce qu'il demande toujours.

Si donc l'île de St. Hélène par sa nature n'est pas déjà une prison suffisante; si elle n'a pas l'avantage de faire concourir la sûreté avec les indulgences; alors on a trompé votre choix et vos intentions. A quoi bon nous envoyer mourir misérablement dans un climat qui n'est pas le nôtre? A quoi bon toutes vos dépenses additionnelles? A

circles of prisons? And if, which is impossible, so many difficulties could ever be surmounted, the immensity of sea, nearly the whole of the earth,—do these not still remain a new prison?

Now, what could induce men in their sound senses, to think of such absurd attempts? What could give rise to such foolishly desperate thoughts in the minds of the inmates of Longwood? In truth, the Emperor Napoleon remains always faithful to the same projects he had in view, and forms the same wishes which he expressed when he came with confidence, *freely and in good faith*, among you: "An asylum and repose under your own positive laws, or those of America." This was what he wished then, and this is what he wishes for yet: and that which he never ceases to demand.

If, then, the Island of St. Helena is not a sufficient prison in itself; if it does not combine the advantage of security with the indulgences intended, you have been deceived in the choice, and your intentions frustrated? What

quoi bon votre nombreuse garnison et son grand état-major ? A quoi bon votre établissement de mer ? A quoi bon les gênes qu'on impose au commerce de cette île malheureuse ? Il étoit tant de points dans vos dominations Européennes, où vous pouviez nous garder sans frais, et où nous nous serions estimés moins malheureux.

Si cette île au contraire, par sa nature et à l'aide des précautions exprimées ci-dessus, présentait en elle-même tout ce que la sagesse, la prudence humaines peuvent croire nécessaire ; alors toutes additions aggravantes ne seroient-elles pas autant de vexations inutiles, d'actes tyranniques et barbares, exécutés contre votre intention ? Car vous n'avez pu vouloir qu'on torturât Napoléon ; qu'on le fît mourir à coup d'épingle ; et pourtant il n'est que trop vrai qu'il périt par des blessures incessantes de chaque jour, chaque heure, chaque minute.

purpose could it answer to send us to perish miserably in a climate not our own ? To what purpose all your additional expenses ? To what end your numerous garrison, and its large staff ? To what end your marine establishment ? To what end the restraints under which the commerce of this devoted island has been laid ? You had so many spots in your European dominions, where you could have kept us without expense, and where we should have deemed ourselves less unfortunate.

If this Island, on the other hand, of its own nature, assisted by the precautions which we have noticed above, presented all that human wisdom and foresight could think necessary for the safe custody of the captive ; must not all aggravating additions be so many useless, vexatious, tyrannical, and barbarous acts, contrary to your intentions ? For you never could have intended that Napoleon should be tortured ; that he should be goaded to death by inches ; and yet it is but too true that he is actually perishing by wounds, inflicted unceasingly from

Si vous n'avez voulu voir en lui qu'un simple prisonnier; et non l'objet de l'ostracisme des rois, roi lui même; si vous n'avez prétendu lui donner qu'une prison ordinaire, et non choisir un lieu où l'on put adoucir l'irrégularité de son exil; si on n'a voulu le confier qu'à un géolier et non à un officier d'un grade éminent, qui par ses habitudes des affaires et du monde sut allier ce qu'il doit à la sureté du captif avec le respect et les égards qu'il commande; si on n'a voulu suivre que la haine, la vengeance et toutes les passions étroites et vulgaires; si on n'a voulu enfin que confier au climat la mort de l'illustre ennemi, charger la nature d'un acte qu'on n'osoit pas exécuter soi-même; si on a voulu tout cela, je m'arrête, je n'ai plus rien à dire, je n'ai déjà que trop dit. Mais si dans le sens de votre Bill même, vous avez voulu entourer votre acte politique, comme vous l'avez fait en effet, de toutes les intentions d'une nation grande, noble, honorable; je puis

day to day, from hour to hour, from minute to minute.

But, if you have intended to regard him only as a mere prisoner, and not as the object of the ostracism of kings, himself a king; if you have only meant to find him a common gaol, and not to chuse him a place in which the irregularity of his exile might be softened; if you have only meant to entrust him to a gaoler, and not to an officer of distinguished rank, who by his knowledge of the world and its affairs, knew how to unite what was due to the safe custody of his captive, with the respect and attentions which the situation of the captive commanded; if you have only wished to gratify hatred, vengeance, and all the vulgar passions of narrow minds; if, in fact, you have only wished to entrust to the climate the death of your illustrious enemy, to charge nature with a deed you have not dared to execute yourselves; if this has been what you have had in view, I stop here,—I have no more to say,—what I have already said is too much. But, if according to the

continuer, car vous aurez voulu tout le bien que peut permettre la circonstance. Vous aurez interdit tout le mal que ne commandoit pas la nécessité.

Vous n'avez pas voulu qu'on privât le prisonnier de tout exercice, en lui imposant inutilement des conditions ou des formes, qui eussent fait de cette jouissance un tourment : vous n'avez pas voulu qu'on lui prescrivit la nature de ses paroles, la longueur de ses phrases : vous n'avez pas voulu qu'on restreignit son enceinte primitive, sous prétexte qu'il ne fesoit pas un usage journalier de son étendue : vous n'avez pas voulu qu'on le forçât de se réduire à sa chambre, pour ne pas se trouver au milieu des retranchemens et des palissades dont on entoure ridiculement son jardin, &c. &c. &c.

meaning of the words of your Bill itself, you have wished to guard and cover your political act, as in fact you have done, by expressing the whole of the intentions of a great, generous, and honourable nation ; I may proceed ; for as you have willed all the good which the circumstance admitted of ; so you would have forbidden all the evil which was not enforced by necessity.

You could not have meant that the prisoner should be deprived of all exercise, by the useless imposition of conditions and forms, which turned that enjoyment into a torment ; —you could not have meant that the nature of his words was to be prescribed to him, as well as the length of his phrases ; —you could not have intended that the first bounds assigned to him should have been narrowed, under the pretence that he did not use them every day to the full extent ; —you could not have meant that he should be obliged to confine himself to his room, not to find himself entangled among the entrenchments and palisades with which they have

Or, toutes ces choses existent. Elles se sont succédées chaque jour, bien qu'elles soient jugées inutiles, et que beaucoup de vos compatriotes les condamnent et en gémissent.

Vous n'avez pas voulu qu'au grand détriment de sa santé et de ses aises, il fut condamné à une mauvaise, petite, incommode demeure, tandis que l'autorité en auroit de grandes et de belles à la ville et à la campagne qui eussent été beaucoup plus commodes, plus convenables, eussent sauvé l'envoi du fameux palais, ou pour parler plus correctement, de l'immense quantité de mardriers bruts pourrissant aujourd'hui sans emploi sur le rivage, parcequ'on a trouvé qu'il faudroit de sept à huit ans pour accomplir la batisse projetée; vous n'avez pas voulu qu'en dépit des sommes que vous y consacrez, les nécessités de la vie, toutes les subsistances fournies journellement à Longwood fussent du dernier rebut, lorsqu'il en existeroit pour d'autres de la meilleure qualité. Vous n'avez pas voulu

ridiculously surrounded his garden, &c. &c. &c.

Yet all this has taken place. Each of these things has succeeded day after day to the other, notwithstanding their being all deemed useless; and that many of your countrymen condemn and lament them.

You did not mean that he should be condemned to dwell in a small, bad, inconvenient abode, at the expense of his health and comfort, while the authorities of the Island had at their disposal such as were roomy and handsome, both in the town and country, and which would have been more commodious and suitable, would have spared the sending out that *palace* which has been so much talked of; or to speak more correctly, the immense mass of timber which now lies rotting unemployed upon the shore, because it was found that it would require seven or eight years to raise the projected building; — you did not intend, that in spite of the sums you have allotted to that purpose, that the necessities of life, all the articles of subsistence furnished daily at Longwood, should be the mere

lu qu'on poussât l'outrage vis-à-vis de Napoléon jusqu'à vouloir le forcer de discuter les petits détails de sa dépense ; qu'on le sommât de fournir un surplus qu'il ne possédoit pas, ou qu'à défaut on le menaçât de réductions impossibles ; qu'on le forçât de s'écrier dans son indignation de le laisser tranquille, qu'il ne demandoit rien, que quand il auroit faim il iroit s'asseoir au milieu de ces braves, dont il apercevoit les tentes au loin, lesquels ne repousseroient pas le plus vieux soldat de l'Europe : vous n'avez pas voulu que Napoléon se trouvât contraint par là de vendre son argenterie, pièce-à-pièce, afin de subvenir à ce qui lui manque chaque mois ; et qu'il se trouvât réduit à accepter ce que des serviteurs fidèles étoient assez heureux pour pouvoir déposer à ses pieds.

refuse of their kind, while those of a superior quality were found for other people ;—you did not wish that they should wound the feelings of Napoleon, by forcing him to discuss and enter into the most trifling details of his household expenditure ; that he should be called upon to supply a surplus while he did not possess the means wherewith ; or in default, that he should be threatened with reductions that could not be made without starvation ; that he should be goaded to indignation, and irritated till he exclaimed, “ that he only wished to be left in peace, that he asked for nothing ; that when hungry he should go and seat himself in the middle of the brave soldiers, whose tents were in view, who would not turn away the oldest soldier in Europe ;”—you did not mean, that by such treatment, Napoleon should be reduced to sell his plate, piece by piece, in order to supply the deficiency of each month ; and be brought to accept the mite which his faithful servants were fortunate enough to be enabled to lay at his feet.

O Anglais ! est-ce ainsi qu'on peut traiter en votre nom celui qui a gouverné l'Europe, disposé de tant de Couronnes, créé tant de Rois ! ne craignez-vous pas le cri de l'histoire ; et si jamais elle venoit à graver : — " Ils l'ont trompé pour s'en saisir, et puis ont marchandé son existence. " — Souffrirez-vous qu'on compromette à ce point vos sentiments, votre caractère, votre honneur ? est-ce donc là votre Bill, vos intentions ? et quel rapport de si inconvenables mesures ont-elles avec la sûreté ?

Vous n'avez pas voulu que l'autorité ce fit une étude puérile et barbare dans ses paroles, ses réglemens et ses actes, de rappeler sans cesse ce qu'il eût été délicat de ne mentionner jamais : en nous répétant chaque jour que nous nous abusons étrangement sur notre position, en interdisant sévèrement tout respect inusité ; en punissant même, nous a-t-on dit, celui en qui l'habitude l'auroit laissé échapper ; en restreignant les journaux qui nous parviennent, à ceux qui pour-

Englishmen ! is it thus that they can treat in your name, he who has governed Europe, disposed of so many crowns, created so many kings ? Do you not dread the voice of history ; and if ever she should record in her pages, " They have deceived him, to get him into their power, and then set a price on his existence ! " Could you bear to have your feelings, your character, your honour, brought into question in such manner ? Was this what you meant by your Bill ? What relation can such indecent measures have with the safe custody of the prisoner ?

You could not have intended that the chief authority of the Island should be displaying a puerile and barbarous affectation, in eternally recalling, by words, regulations, and acts, that which it would have been more delicate never to mention at all : in reminding us every day that we were deceiving ourselves strangely in regard to our real position, in forbidding in the severest manner, any unaccustomed mark of respect ; nay, even in punishing, as we were told, those who

roient nous être les plus désagréables; en nous procurant volontiers les libelles, et soustrayant ou retenant, au contraire, les ouvrages bienveillants. Enfin en nous imposant la forme littérale de la déclaration par laquelle nous achetions l'esclavage et le bonheur de soigner un objet révéré; en nous contraignant d'y admettre des dénominations contraires à nos habitudes et à nos lois, se servant ainsi de nos propres mains, pour dégrader l'objet auguste que nous entourions. Et toutes fois nous avons dû le faire, parceque sur notre refus universel, nous avons été menacés d'être arrachés tous à notre doux emploi, jetés aussitôt sur un bâtiment, et déportés au Cap de Bonne Espérance. De quelle intérêt ces cruelles et tyranniques mesures peuvent-elles être à la sûreté?

made use of such unguardedly, and from former habits; in confining the journals that were permitted to come to us, to those only which might be the most unpleasant to us; in readily procuring for us any libels against us, and in keeping back and depriving us of any publications which were favourable to us. Finally, in binding us down by the letter of the form of the declaration by which we purchased the bondage and the happiness of being permitted to devote ourselves to the care of the object we revered; by obliging us to admit in that declaration of denominations, contrary to our customs and our laws, thus making use of our own hands to degrade the august object to whose service we had dedicated ourselves. Nor did our duty permit us to act otherwise; for upon our unanimous refusal, we were all threatened to be torn away from an employment so dear to us; hurried immediately on board ship, and transported to the Cape of Good Hope. In what way could such unfeeling and tyrannical measures

On croira avec peine que Napoléon s'informant s'il pouvoit écrire au Prince Régent, l'autorité ait répondu qu'on ne laisseroit passer sa lettre qu'en cas qu'elle fut ouverte, ou qu'on l'ouvreroit pour en prendre connoissance. Procédé que réprouve la raison, également injurieux aux deux augustes personnes.

Ste. Hélène avoit été choisi pour nous, avoit-il été dit, afin que nous pussions y jouir d'une certaine liberté et de quelques indulgences. Mais nous ne pouvons parler à personne. Il nous est interdit d'écrire à aucun. Nous sommes restreints dans nos plus petits détails domestiques. Des fossés, des retranchements entourent nos demeures; une autorité sans contrôle nous gouverne, et l'on avoit choisi Ste. Hélène pour nous procurer quelque indulgence! Mais quelle prison en Angleterre eût donc pu être pire pour nous? Certes il n'en est aucune aujourd'hui qui ne nous semblât un bienfait.

be useful to the safe custody of the captive?

It will hardly be credited, that when Napoleon enquired if he might write a letter to the Prince Regent, he was answered by the chief authority of the Island, that the letter would only be permitted to go if it was open, or else that it would be opened, that the contents might be verified. A proceeding against all reason, and one equally derogatory to both the august personages.

St. Helena, it has been said, was selected for us, in order that we might enjoy a certain degree of liberty, and be allowed some indulgences. But we are not allowed to speak to any one. It is forbidden us to write to any one. We are restrained in the minutest of our domestic details. Ditches and entrenchments surround our dwellings; an authority without control disposes of us, and yet we are told that St. Helena was chosen that we might have some indulgences! What prison can there be in England which would have been worse for us? Certainly there is not one at this hour which would not ap-

Nous nous trouverions en terre Chrétienne, nous respirerions l'air Européen ; une autorité supérieure, contradictoire, nous mettroit à l'abri des ressentiments personnels, de l'irritation du moment, ou même du défaut de jugement.

Il a été insinué, ou même interdit aux officiers de votre nation, de ne pas se présenter devant celui dont ils surveillent la garde ; il a été défendu aux Anglois même, quelque soit le rang et la confiance qu'ils possèdent, de nous approcher et de s'entretenir avec nous sans des formalités qui équivalent à une interdiction, dans la crainte que nous leur dépeignissions les mauvais traitements dont on nous accable. Précaution inutile à la sûreté, mais qui prouve l'anxieuse attention qu'on met à nous empêcher de faire parvenir la vérité. On nous a fait un crime de nos efforts à ce sujet, comme si de vous la faire parvenir, surtout quand elle intéresse votre honneur, votre caractère, n'étoit pas bien mériter de vous.

pear a benefit to us. We should find ourselves in a Christian country, we should breathe the air of Europe ; a superior and controlling authority would secure us from personal resentment, from the irritation of the moment, from wrong-headed acts.

It has been hinted to, even positively ordered the officers of your nation, not to present themselves before him whose custody they superintend ; it has been even forbidden to other English, whatever might be their rank or the confidence they were entitled to, to come near us, or hold conversation with us, but upon conditions which were equivalent to an interdict, for fear we should represent the ill treatment which we suffered : a precaution totally useless in regard to our safe custody, but which sufficiently evinces the anxious attention paid to prevent the truth from getting abroad. Our efforts on this head have been treated as criminal acts ; as if the causing the truth to be laid before you in a case where your honour and character are at stake, were not doing you a

Certes vous n'avez pas voulu qu'on portât la tyrannie sur nos pensées et nos sentiments au point de nous insinuer que si nous continuions à nous exprimer librement dans nos lettres à nos parents, à nos amis, nous serions arrachés d'auprès de Napoléon, et déportés hors de l'île, circonstance qui a précisément amené ma déportation, en me portant à faire passer clandestinement les lettres mêmes que j'avois d'abord destinées pour le gouverneur, et que je lui aurois envoyées sans son inquiétante insinuation : insinuation gratuitement tyrannique, puisque ces lettres étoient envoyées ouvertes aux ministres, accompagnées au besoin des notes de l'autorité locale ; qu'elles pouvoient être retenues par les ministres si elles étoient inconvenables, ou livrées même aux lois si elles étoient criminelles, et que dans tous les cas elles devoient avoir le mérite à leurs yeux d'être un moyen de plus d'obtenir la vérité.

real service, and deserving well.

Certainly it was never your intention, that the tyranny over our thoughts and feelings should be carried the length of its being hinted to us, that if we persevered in expressing ourselves freely in correspondence with our relatives and friends, we should be forced away from Napoleon, and carried out of the Island. It was exactly this circumstance which caused my being sent out of the Island, by inducing me to convey clandestinely, those very letters, which I had originally intended the governor should see, and that I should certainly have sent him, if it had not been for this vexatious and meddling interference of his. An interference gratuitously tyrannical, as our letters were sent open to the ministers accompanied, when required, by the notes of the authorities of the island ; and as they might be retained by the minister if they were not proper, or given up to the course of the law if criminal ; and at all events they must have had this merit in the eyes of those ministers, that they were

Certes vous n'avez pas voulu que ceux qui avoient obtenu la faveur de demeurer auprès de Napoléon, se trouvassent en dedans des lois pour leur sévérité, et fussent jetés en dehors pour leurs bienfaits. C'est pourtant ce qui nous a été positivement signifié. Vous n'avez pas voulu qu'on saisit mes papiers les plus secrets et les plus sacrés, et que bien que je les eusse fait parcourir sommairement pour en laisser connoître la nature, on m'en séparât, on me refusât d'y apposer mon sceau. Vous n'avez pas voulu qu'on se fit sur ma personne un jeu barbare de ce qu'il y a de plus saint et de plus sacré parmi vous. Qu'au mépris de mes constantes réclamations d'être rendu à la liberté ou livré aux tribunaux; qu'en dépit de mes offres répétées de me soumettre volontairement d'avance à toutes les précautions même arbitraires qu'on voudroit m'imposer en Angleterre, on me retint captif à Ste. Hélène; on m'envoya de cette île au Cap de Bonne Espérance, pour me faire revenir, avec

one mean more for coming at truth.

Certainly you could never have intended; that those who had been allowed the favour of attending on Napoleon, should experience all the penalties and restraints of laws, but be deprived of their benefit and protection. This is, however, what has been distinctly signified to us. You could not have intended that my most secret and most sacredly private papers should be seized; and though I allowed them to be cursorily inspected, that the nature of their contents might be known, they were taken from me, and I was not even allowed to put my seal on them. You did not intend that they should, in my person, make a barbarous sport of all that is held most holy and sacred among yourselves. That in spite of my constant applications to be either set at liberty, or consigned over to the courts of law; in spite of my repeated offers to submit myself voluntarily beforehand to all, even the most arbitrary precautions that they might require to impose upon me in Eng-

le tems, du Cap vers Ste. Hélène. Me promenant ainsi prisonnier sur la vaste étendue des mers, dans de frêles batiments, au grand détriment de la santé de mon fils, dont la vie étoit en danger ; au peril de la mienne qu'on a affligé d'infirmités qui doivent m'accompagner au tombeau, si toutefois elles ne m'y précipitent avant le tems.

Vous n'avez pas voulu, qu'arrivé au Cap l'autorité m'y retint arbitrairement, sans discussion, sans examen, sans information ; et m'y fit sécher dans les angoisses de la douleur ; de l'attente et du désespoir, sous le prétexte ridicule d'envoyer à 2000 lieues, demander à mes juges naturels, aux ministres auxquels je sollicitois si vivement d'être livré ; si l'on feroit bien de m'envoyer à eux, en exécutant déjà sur moi, par ce seul fait, une sentence mille fois plus terrible, que ne sauroit être celle de tous les juges : Savoir, de me priver durant plusieurs mois de ma

land, they detained me a prisoner at St. Helena ; they sent me from that Island to the Cape of Good Hope, afterwards to bring me back again from the Cape, within reach of St. Helena. Parading me about this vast extent of sea in crazy vessels, to the great injury of the health of my son, whose life was endangered by it ; to the ruin of my constitution which they have afflicted with infirmities that will accompany me to the grave, if they do not bring me there before my time.

You could not have intended, that when arrived at the Cape, the authorities of the place should detain me there arbitrarily, without discussion, examination, or information, and should keep me in the agonies of vexation, anxiety, and despair, under the ridiculous pretence of sending 2000 leagues, to ask of my natural judges, of the ministers, into whose hands I so earnestly solicited to be delivered, whether it would be doing right to send me to them ; and by so doing, executing in fact upon me, a sentence a thousand-fold more terrible than that which my

liberté ; de me retenir tout ce tems captif aux extrémités de la terre, séparé de ma famille, de mes amis, de mes intérêts, de tous mes sentiments ; consumant péniblement dans le désert, le peu de jours qui me restent. Certes sous l'empire des lois positives, on ne sauroit se jouer tyranniquement ainsi de la liberté, de la vie, du bonheur des individus.

O Anglois, si de tels actes demeuroident impunis, vos belles lois ne seroient plus qu'un vain nom ! vous porteriez la terreur aux extrémités de la terre, et il ne seroit plus ni liberté, ni justice au milieu de vous.

Tels sont les griefs que j'avois à vous faire connoître, et qui sont développés avec d'autres encore, dans une lettre ci-jointe*

* Cette lettre ne nous est jamais parvenue. Il est à croire que c'est le document qu'on publie en ce moment sous le titre de *Griefs de Longwood*, adressés à Sir H. Lowe par le Comte de Las Cases.

judges could have condemned me to : namely, in inflicting upon me the privations of several months confinement ; keeping me all that time a prisoner at the extremity of the earth, separated from my family, my friends, from my concerns, and all that could interest me ; and wasting the short time that is yet allotted me in a desert. Certainly, under the dominion of positive laws, there could not be a more cruel example of trifling with the life and happiness of an individual, than this.

If acts like these, Oh, Englishmen ! are to go unpunished, your boasted laws are but an empty sound ! You may carry the terror of your arms to the confines of the world, but among you there will be neither liberty or justice.

These are the grievances that I had to make known to you, and which are stated, together with others, in the subjoined letter,*

* This letter has never reached us. It is supposed to be the document now publishing under the title of the "*Grievances of Longwood*," addressed to Sir Hudson Lowe by the Count de Las Cases.

qu'en quittant Ste. Hélène j'ai remise à l'autorité, dans l'espoir qu'elle pourroit lui faire faire un retour sur elle même.

Beaucoup de ces griefs eussent mérité, peut-être, que nous ne voulussions pas les appercevoir ; toutefois je me suis fait la violence de vous les exposer ; il n'en est pas de si petits qui n'intéresse votre honneur !

Et quelles peuvent être les causes de pareilles mesures ? d'où peuvent venir ces graduelles attaques, ces incessantes aggravations ? comment les aura-t-on justifiées ? nous l'ignorons.

Ce n'est pas dureste qu'à Ste. Hélène l'autorité conteste le péril de la santé du captif, l'imminent danger de sa vie, la probable et prompt issue d'un tel état de choses. " Mais " c'est lui qui l'aura voulu," se contente-t-on d'observer froidement, " ce " sera sa faute." Mais y prend-on bien garde ?

put by me, into the possession of the authorities of the place on quitting St. Helena, in the hope that these might be induced to return to a sense of duty, and change their line of conduct.

Many of the things here complained of, might as well have been, perhaps, passed over unobserved ; I have, however, made it my duty, notwithstanding my repugnance, to detail them to you ; there is not one of them, however insignificant, that does not concern your honour.

What could have been the causes of measures such as these ? From whence could these graduated attacks upon us, these incessant and goading aggravations have come ? How can they have been provoked ? For this we are unable to account.

Those in power at St. Helena, do not pretend to dispute the perilous state of the health of the Captive, the imminent danger of his life, the probable and speedy issue of such a state of things ; but content themselves with coolly observing, " that it is his own desire, and that it will be his own fault." But

Confesser que Napoléon cherche la mort, n'est-ce pas confesser qu'on lui rend la vie intolérable? "D'ailleurs," continue-t-on, "pourquoi se refuser à "prendre l'exercice nécessaire, parcequ'un officier doit accompagner? "Qu'a donc cette formalité de si heurtant, de si pénible? pourquoi s'obstiner à en faire une si grande affaire?" Mais qui peut se croire le droit de juger des sensations de l'illustre victime? Napoléon se prive et se tait. Que veut-on de plus? Du reste, on l'a répété cent fois; ce n'est ni la couleur de l'habit, ni la différence de nation qui crée la répugnance, mais la nature de la chose en elle-même, et ses effets inévitables. Si dans un pareil exercice le bénéfice du corps demeurait de beaucoup au dessous des souffrances de l'esprit, cet exercice seroit-il un avantage?

"Mais," insinue-t-on encore, (car il n'est pas une même échelle pour tous

are they aware, that to admit that Napoleon seeks to rid himself of life, is to admit that they have made it insupportable to him. Then they add, "Why does he refuse to take the necessary exercise because he is to be accompanied by an officer? What is there so offensive or so painful in this formality? Why persevere in making this so important a point?" But who has a right to say that it belongs to him to apportion the feelings of the illustrious Captive? Napoleon bears his privations, and suffers not a word to escape him. What more would they have of him? But it has been observed by us all a hundred times over; it is not the colour of the coat, nor the difference of the nation, that excites the repugnance; but the nature of the thing itself, and its inevitable effects. If in this way of taking exercise, the benefit received by the body, would be far inferior to the pain suffered by the mind; could such exercise have any salutary effect?

But then it is said by others, (for all minds and all feelings are not gradu-

les esprits et tous les sentiments,) “ pourquoi des “ égards si recherchés, des “ attentions, des soins si “ extraordinaires? Après “ tout, c’est un captif “ de distinction peut-être, “ mais qu’est-il donc de “ plus? quels seroient ses “ titres?”

Ce qu’il est? quels sont ses titres? Je vais le raconter.

“ Napoléon est la première, la plus étonnante “ destinée de l’histoire. “ C’est l’homme de la Renommée, celui des prodiges, le héros des siècles, “ son nom est dans toutes “ les bouches, ses actes “ agitent toutes les imaginations, sa carrière demeure sans parallèle. “ Quand César médita de “ gouverner sa patrie, César “ en étoit déjà le premier “ par sa naissance, ses richesses. Quand Alexandre entreprit de subjuguier l’Asie, Alexandre “ étoit roi et fils d’un roi “ qui avoit préparé ses “ succès. Mais Napoléon, “ s’élançant de la foule “ pour gouverner le monde, “ se présente seul, sans “ autres auxiliaires que son “ génie. Ses premiers pas “ dans la carrière sont autant de merveilles. Il se

ated on the same scale); “ Why such refined “ deference, such extraordinary attention and indulgence? After all, we “ may allow him to be a “ captive of distinction, “ but what is he more? “ What may his claims “ be?”

What he is; what his claims are; I will here state.

“ The destiny of Napoleon is the first and most “ astonishing in the records of history. He is “ the child of Fame, the achiever of prodigies, “ the Hero of ages; his “ name is in all mouths, “ his deeds rouse the imaginations of all men, his “ career remains without “ a parallel. When Cæsar “ meditated the seizing on “ the government of his “ country, Cæsar was already the first in it, by “ his birth and by his “ wealth: when Alexander undertook the subjugation of Asia, Alexander was a king, and the “ son of a king who had “ paved the way for his “ son’s success. But Napoleon, advancing from “ the crowd to govern the “ world, presents himself “ alone, with no auxiliary

“ couvre aussitôt de lau-
 “ riers immortels, et règne
 “ dès cet instant sur tous
 “ les esprits. Idole de ses
 “ soldats, dont il a porté la
 “ gloire jusqu’aux nues,
 “ espoir de la patrie qui
 “ dans ses angoisses pres-
 “ sent déjà qu’il sera son
 “ Libérateur ; et cette at-
 “ tente n’est point trom-
 “ pée. A sa voix expi-
 “ rante, Napoléon inter-
 “ rompant ses mystérieuses
 “ destinées accourt des
 “ rives du Nil ; il traverse
 “ les mers au risque de sa
 “ liberté et de sa réputa-
 “ tion ; il aborde seul aux
 “ plages françaises ; on
 “ tressaille de le revoir, des
 “ acclamations, l’allégresse
 “ publique, le triomphe,
 “ le transportent dans la
 “ capitale. A sa vue les
 “ factions se courbent, les
 “ partis se confondent ; il
 “ gouverne, et la révolution
 “ est enchaînée.

“ but his genius. The
 “ first steps in his career
 “ are so many wonders.
 “ He at once covers him-
 “ self with the immor-
 “ tal laurels of victory,
 “ and from that instant
 “ reigns over the minds of
 “ everyone: he is the idol of
 “ the soldiers, whose glory
 “ he has carried to the
 “ highest pitch ; the hope
 “ of his country, which in
 “ the agonies of distress,
 “ feels that he is to be her
 “ preserver ; and her ex-
 “ pectation is not deceiv-
 “ ed. At her voice, ex-
 “ piring in the midst
 “ of dangers, Napoleon
 “ breaking off in his mys-
 “ terious destiny, hastens
 “ from the shores of the
 “ Nile, traverses the seas
 “ at the peril of being
 “ made a prisoner, and,
 “ forfeiting his reputation,
 “ reaches alone, the shores
 “ of France ; the sight of
 “ him electrifies the na-
 “ tion ; acclamations, pub-
 “ lic joy, and triumphs,
 “ accompany him to the
 “ capital. At the sight of
 “ him, the factious bow
 “ their heads ; parties
 “ unite ; he governs ; re-
 “ volution ceases.

“ Le seul poids de l’opi-
 “ nion, la seule influence
 “ d’un homme, ont tout

“ The mere weight of
 “ opinion, the influence of
 “ a single man brought

“ fait. Il n’a pas été be-
 “ soin de combattre ; pas
 “ une goutte de sang n’a
 “ coulée, et ce ne sera pas
 “ la seule fois qu’un tel
 “ prodige signalera sa vie.

“ A sa voix les princi-
 “ pes désorganiseurs s’é-
 “ vanouissent, les playes
 “ se ferment, les souillures
 “ s’effacent, la création
 “ semble encore une fois
 “ sortir du cahos.

“ Toutes les folies révo-
 “ lutionnaires disparois-
 “ sent, les seules grandes
 “ et belles vérités demeu-
 “ rent. Napoléon ne con-
 “ noit aucun parti ; aucun
 “ préjugé n’entache son
 “ administration. Toutes
 “ les opinions, toutes les
 “ sectes, tous les talents
 “ se groupent autour de
 “ lui. Un nouvel ordre de
 “ choses commence. La
 “ nation respire et le bénit,
 “ les peuples l’admirent,
 “ les rois le respectent, et
 “ l’on est heureux ; l’on va
 “ s’honorer de nouveau
 “ d’être françois.

“ Bientôt on l’éleva sur
 “ le trône : il devint Em-
 “ pereur. Chacun connoit
 “ le reste. On sait de quel

“ about all this. It did
 “ not require a combat ;
 “ not one drop of blood was
 “ spilled ; and it was not
 “ the only time that the
 “ same prodigy has marked
 “ the career of Napoleon.

“ At his voice disorgan-
 “ ising principles vanish ;
 “ the wounds of the coun-
 “ try close ; its foulest
 “ stains are wiped away ;
 “ and creation appears as
 “ advancing once more
 “ from chaos.

“ All the follies of the re-
 “ volution disappeared, and
 “ nothing remained but the
 “ great and glorious truths
 “ it had produced. Na-
 “ poleon acknowledged no
 “ party ; no prejudices
 “ stained his administra-
 “ tion. Every way of think-
 “ ing, every kind of sect,
 “ every kind of talent
 “ formed the group which
 “ surrounded him. A new
 “ order of things arose.
 “ France breathed again,
 “ and blessed him ; sur-
 “ rounding nations looked
 “ up to him ; their kings re-
 “ spected him ; happiness
 “ was restored ; and the
 “ pride of being a French-
 “ man again revived.

“ Not long after, he is
 “ raised to the throne : he
 “ becomes an Emperor.
 “ The rest is known to

“ lustre de quelle puissance
 “ il honora sa couronne.
 “ Souverain par le choix
 “ des peuples, consacré
 “ par le chef de la religion,
 “ sanctionné par la main
 “ de la Victoire; quel chef
 “ de dynastie rassembla
 “ jamais des titres aussi
 “ puissants, aussi nobles,
 “ aussi purs! qu’on re-
 “ cherche!...

“ Tous les souverains se
 “ sont alliés à lui par le
 “ sang ou les traités. Tous
 “ les peuples l’ont reconnu.
 “ Anglois, si seuls vous
 “ faites exception, cette
 “ exception n’a tenu qu’à
 “ votre politique; elle n’a
 “ été qu’une affaire de
 “ forme; bien plus, vous
 “ êtes précisément ceux
 “ qui aurez vu dans Na-
 “ poléon les titres les plus
 “ sacrés, les moins contes-
 “ tables. Les autres puis-
 “ sances auront pu obéir
 “ peut-être à la nécessité;
 “ vous, vous n’aurez fait
 “ que vous rendre à vos
 “ principes, à votre con-
 “ viction, à la vérité. Car
 “ telles sont vos doctrines,
 “ que Napoléon, quatre fois
 “ l’élu d’un grand peuple,
 “ a dû nécessairement,
 “ malgré vos dénégations

“ every one. No one is
 “ ignorant what lustre and
 “ power he gave to his
 “ crown. A sovereign by
 “ the choice of the people,
 “ consecrated by the head
 “ of the Christian church,
 “ sanctioned by the hand
 “ of Victory,—where shall
 “ we find a founder of a
 “ dynasty, who united in
 “ himself titles so power-
 “ ful, so noble, so pure?
 “ The search would be
 “ vain.

“ All other sovereigns
 “ allied themselves with
 “ him, either by the ties
 “ of blood or treaties. All
 “ nations acknowledged
 “ him. And if, English-
 “ men, you alone stand an
 “ exception, that excep-
 “ tion rested solely upon
 “ your politics; it was a
 “ mere affair of form; for,
 “ above all other people,
 “ you are precisely the
 “ one who must have hail-
 “ ed the title of Napo-
 “ leon as the most indis-
 “ putable and sacred.
 “ Other powers might,
 “ perhaps, have yielded to
 “ necessity; but as to you,
 “ you could have only
 “ yielded to your own
 “ principles, to conviction,
 “ and to truth; for such
 “ are the doctrines receiv-
 “ ed among you, that Na-

“ publiques, se trouver
 “ souverain dans le fond
 “ de vos cœurs. Descendez
 “ dans vos consciences . . .
 “ Or Napoléon n’a
 “ perdu que son trône. Un
 “ revers l’en a arraché, le
 “ succès l’y eut fixé pour
 “ jamais. Il a vu marcher
 “ contre lui 1100 mille
 “ hommes; leurs généraux,
 “ leurs souverains ont pro-
 “ clamé partout qu’ils n’en
 “ vouloient qu’à sa seule
 “ personne. Quelle Des-
 “ tinée ! . . . Il a succombé,
 “ mais il n’a perdu que le
 “ pouvoir ; tous ses carac-
 “ tères augustes lui de-
 “ meurent et commandent
 “ le respect des hommes.
 “ Mille souvenirs de gloire
 “ le couronnent toujours,
 “ l’infortune le rend sacré,
 “ et dans cet état de choses
 “ le véritable homme de
 “ cœur n’hésite pas à le
 “ considérer comme plus
 “ vénérable sur son ro-
 “ cher, qu’à la tête de 600
 “ mille hommes, imposant
 “ des lois. Voilà quels
 “ sont ses titres.”

“ poleon, four times elect-
 “ ed by a powerful nation,
 “ must of necessity, in
 “ spite of all your public
 “ disavowals, find him-
 “ self the sovereign in
 “ the bottom of your
 “ hearts. Ask your con-
 “ sciences. . . . Now Napo-
 “ leon has lost only the
 “ throne. A reverse has
 “ torn him from it. Suc-
 “ cess would have fixed
 “ him on it for ever.—
 “ He saw 1,100,000 men
 “ in march against him ;
 “ their generals, their so-
 “ vereigns proclaimed eve-
 “ ry where, that his per-
 “ son alone was the object
 “ of their hostility. What
 “ a destiny was this ! . . .
 “ He has been over-
 “ thrown, but he has lost
 “ only his authority ; all
 “ that was august in his
 “ character remains by
 “ him, and still commands
 “ the respect of mankind.
 “ A thousand recollections
 “ of his glory serve as his
 “ crown ; misfortune has
 “ rendered him sacred ;
 “ and in this position, the
 “ man who has really a
 “ heart, will never hesitate
 “ to consider him as an
 “ object of greater vene-
 “ ration on his rock, than
 “ when he was giving law
 “ at the head of 600,000

Vainement les esprits bornés, ou les cœurs de mauvaise foi, voudroient le charger comme de coutume d'être la cause offensive de tous les maux, de tous les troubles dont nous avons été les témoins ou les victimes. Le tems des libelles est passé. La vérité doit avoir son tour. Déjà les nuages du mensonge s'éclaircissent devant le soleil de l'avenir. Un temps viendra qu'on lui rendra pleine justice. Car les passions meurent avec les contemporains; mais les actes vivent avec la postérité, qui n'a point de bornes. Alors on dira que les grandes actions, les grands biens furent de lui: que les maux furent ceux du tems et de la fatalité.

Qui ne commence à voir aujourd'hui que, malgré sa toute-puissance, il n'eut jamais le choix de sa destinée ni de ses moyens! que constamment armé pour sa propre défense, il ne recula sa destruction que par des prodiges toujours renaissants; que dans cette lutte terrible on lui

"men." These are his claims, which I had to set forth.

In vain will narrow minds and hollow hearts attempt, according to custom, to charge him with being the offending cause of all those evils and troubles of which we have been either the witnesses or the victims. The hour of libels is gone by. Truth must take its course. Already the mists of falsehood are dispersing before the sun of futurity. A time will come when the full measure of justice will be meted to him; for the passions die away with the men whose breasts they filled; but actions live on with posterity, which has no end. It will then be said, that the great acts, the great benefits proceeded from him; that the evils were such as belonged to the times and fate.

Who is there, that at this moment does not begin to see that, in spite of the greatness of his power, that neither the choice of his destiny, or of his means, ever depended upon himself! That constantly in arms for his own defence, he was only enabled to retard his destruc-

rendoit obligatoire de tout soumettre s'il vouloit survivre et sauver la grande cause nationale; qui parmi vous, Anglois, songe à nier surtout cette dernière vérité? N'a-t-on pas mainte-fois parmi vous proclamé *la guerre viagère*; vos alliés secrets n'avoient-ils pas dans le fond du cœur ce que votre position vous permettoit de dire tout haut? Ne se vante-t-on pas encore en cet instant que vous l'eussiez combattu tant qu'il auroit subsisté? Ainsi toutes les fois qu'il vous a proposé la paix, soit que ses offres fussent sincères, soit qu'elles ne le fussent pas, on s'en importoit peu chez vous. Votre décision étoit arrêtée. Quel parti dès-lors lui restoit-il donc, et quels reproches pourroit-on hasarder contre lui dont on ne fut déjà coupable soi-même? Et qui aujourd'hui prétendrait encore mettre en avant le reproche bannal de son ambition? Qu'a-t-elle donc eu de si neuf, de si extraordinaire, et surtout de si exclusif dans sa personne?

tion by a constant renewal of prodigies; that in this terrible struggle it was obligatory upon him to reduce all to submission, if he wished to survive and save the great cause of his nation; who amongst you, Englishmen, will think of denying this last truth? Was not the war declared many times amongst you to be for as long as he ruled: your underhand allies, had they not in the bottom of their hearts the same sentiments which your position allowed you to utter aloud? Is it not even now vaunted, that you would have continued the combat as long as he should have reigned? So that every time he made you the offer of peace; whether his offers were sincere, or whether they were the contrary, was matter of little consequence with you; your decision was already taken. What course was thus left to him to steer, and what reproaches can be urged against him that must not recoil upon yourselves? And who is there, at this time of day, that will attempt to bring against him the threadbare reproach of his ambition? What was there of

Etouffoit-elle en lui le sentiment ? Quand il disoit à l'illustre Fox, que désormais les lois, les mœurs, le sang fesoient tellement de l'Europe une même famille, qu'il ne pouvoit plus y avoir de guerre que ce ne fut une guerre civile.

Etoit-elle irrésistible ? quand nous peignant tous ses inutiles efforts pour empêcher la rupture du traité d'Amiens, il concluoit que l'Angleterre, malgré tous ses avantages d'aujourd'hui, gagneroit pourtant encore à s'y être tenu ; que toute l'Europe y eut gagné ; que lui seul, peut-être, son nom et sa gloire, y eussent perdu.

Etoit-elle bien avide et commune, cette ambition ? quand à Chatillon il préféroit la chance de perdre un trône, à la certitude de le posséder au prix de la gloire et de l'indépendance nationale.

Etoit-elle incapable d'altération ? quand on lui a entendu dire, " Je revenois

it in him that was either new, extraordinary, or different from your own ?

Did it stifle feeling in him ? When he said to the illustrious Fox, that from thenceforward laws, manners, and kindred, made all Europe so completely one family, that there could never be another war which must not be viewed in the light of a civil war.

Was it incontrollable in him ? When while stating to us all the useless efforts he had made to prevent the rupture of the peace of Amiens, he came to the conclusion, that England, notwithstanding all her present advantages, would still have been the gainer in the end, if she had adhered to it ; that all Europe would have been gainers by it ; that he alone, perhaps, his name, and his glory might have suffered by it.

Was his ambition sordid or vulgar ? When at Chatillon, he preferred the risk of losing his crown, to the certainty of keeping it at the expense of the glory and independence of the nation.

Was it headstrong, and fixed ? When he has been heard to declare, " I came

“de l'île d'Elbe un tout
 “autre homme. On ne
 “l'a pas cru possible, et
 “l'on a eu tort. Je ne fais
 “pas les choses de mau-
 “vaise grace ni à demi.
 “J'eusse été tout-à-fait le
 “monarque de la consti-
 “tution et de la paix.”

Etoit-elle insatiable?—
 quand après la victoire
 dont il se regardoit comme
 certain à Waterloo, sa pre-
 mière parole aux vaincus
 alloit être à l'instant même,
 l'offre du traité de Paris, et
 une union sincère et solide
 qui, confondant les intérêts
 des deux peuples, eut assuré
 l'empire des mers à l'An-
 gleterre, et forcé le conti-
 nent au repos.

Etoit-elle aveugle et sans
 motifs? Quand après son
 désastre, passant en revue
 les conséquences politiques
 qu'il avoit tant prévues, et
 frémissant des probabilités
 de l'avenir, il s'écrioit; “Il
 “n'est pas jusqu'aux An-
 “glais mêmes, qui auront
 “peut-être à pleurer un
 “jour d'avoir vaincu à
 “Waterloo.”

Et qui pourroit donc
 songer désormais à revenir
 avec avantage sur cette am-
 bition? Ce ne sauroit être

“from the Island of Elba,
 “an entirely altered man.
 “They did not believe me;
 “and they were wrong. I
 “do not do things ungra-
 “ciously, nor by halves, I
 “should have been entirely
 “the king of the constitu-
 “tion and of the peace.”

Was his ambition insa-
 tiable? When after a vic-
 tory at Waterloo, of which
 he thought himself certain,
 the first words to the van-
 quished, the succeeding
 moment, were to have been
 the offer of the treaty of
 Paris, and a sincere and
 solid union; which, com-
 bining the interests of both
 nations, would have in-
 sured the empire of the sea
 to England, and forced the
 continent to peace.

Was it blind, and with-
 out motives? When after
 the disaster that had be-
 fallen him, while passing
 in review the consequences
 which he had so truly fore-
 seen, and shuddering at
 the probabilities of the fu-
 ture, he exclaimed, “Even
 “the English themselves,
 “will, perhaps, one day,
 “have to rue their victory
 “at Waterloo!”

And who is it that was
 likely then to recover, with
 advantage, from the effects
 of this ambition? It could

les peuples, tout frappés qu'ils sont de la conduite de ceux qui l'ont renversé. Seroit-ce les souverains? Mais ceux qui ne parloient que de justice avant le combat, quel usage ont-ils fait de la victoire? Qu'on cesse donc de répéter d'oiseuses allégations. Elles purent être un excellent prétexte; elles seroient de pitoyables justifications. Qu'on se contente d'avoir vaincu!

Mais je m'emporte. Où m'entraînent la force de la vérité, la chaleur du sentiment, l'élan du cœur: je reviens à mon sujet.

Représentans de la Grande Bretagne, prenez cet état de choses en considération nouvelle. La justice, l'humanité, votre honneur, votre gloire vous le demandent. Ste. Hélène est insupportable; son séjour équivaut à une mort certaine et préméditée: vous ne voudrez pas vous en rendre responsables aux yeux des siècles. Napoléon fut vingt ans votre terrible ennemi; il vous souviendra d'*Annibal* et de l'*infamie romaine* à son égard: vous ne voudrez pas souiller d'une pareille tache

not be the people, crushed, as they are, by the conduct of those who have overthrown them. Could it be the sovereigns? But they who talked of nothing but justice before the combat, how have they used their victory! Let then these idle objections cease to be repeated: they may have been an excellent pretext, but they can be but sorry justifications. Let the conquerors be satisfied with their victory!

I am off my guard!—The force of truth, the warmth of my feelings, the dictates of my heart are carrying me away: I return to my subject.

Representatives of Great Britain, take once more this state of things into your consideration: justice, honour, and humanity demand it of you. St. Helena is insupportable; his remaining there is equivalent to a certain and premeditated death. Surely you will not render yourselves responsible for such an act in the face of the world and of posterity. Napoleon was your fierce and dangerous enemy for twenty years; you remind us, in regard to him, of the example of Hannibal and

les belles pages de votre histoire présente. Sauvez à votre administration, l'odieuse, l'horrible inculpation d'avoir trafiqué du sang du prisonnier. L'histoire en fournit plusieurs exemples ; tous nous font horreur, et quel plus grand caractère encore ne seroit pas réservé à celui-ci ! Car il est aisé de le prédire ; quand Napoléon ne sera plus, quand on pourra croire le forfait accompli, alors Napoléon deviendra l'homme des peuples ; alors il ne sera plus que la victime, le martyr des rois. Ainsi le voudra la marche inévitable de la force des choses, du sentiment des hommes. Sauvez nos annales modernes d'un tel scandale, et de ses dangereuses conséquences.

Sauvez la royauté de ses propres aveuglements.— Sauvez les intérêts les plus sacrés des grands monarques, au nom desquels s'exécute la victime. Sauvez la majesté royale dans le premier de ses attributs ; le plus saint de ses caractères.

Roman perfidy ; surely you would not stain the bright page of your present history by so foul a blot. Save your ministers the odious and detestable reproach of having made a traffic of the blood of your prisoner. History furnishes us with several instances of such acts, all of them strike us with horror ; and how much higher interest and character would be reserved for the present ! For it is not difficult to foretell, that when Napoleon shall be no more, when the world shall be convinced that deed is done, that moment Napoleon becomes the man of the hearts of the people of all nations : he will then be in their eyes the victim, the martyr of kings. This is what must be the inevitable course of things, of the feelings of mankind. Preserve, then, the annals of our day from so great a scandal, and its perilous consequences.

Preserve royalty itself from its own infatuation. Preserve the sacred interests of the great monarchs in whose name the victim is now undergoing execution. Preserve to the majesty of royalty the first of its attributes.

tères—son *inviolabilité*. Si les rois eux-mêmes portent la main sur ces représentans de Dieu sur la terre, quel frein, quel respect prétendraient-ils opposer aux attentats des peuples? Il n'est point ici bas de prospérité à l'abri du tems et de la fortune. Le cercle des vicissitudes enveloppe tous les trônes. Cette cause est la cause de tous les rois, présents et avenir. Un oint du Seigneur dégradé, avili, torturé, immolé, ne peut, ne doit être qu'un objet d'indignation, d'horreur pour l'histoire, de frémissement pour les rois.

Rappelez Napoléon au milieu de vous; laissez-le venir trouver le repos sous la protection de vos lois. Qu'elles jouissent de son insigne hommage! Ne les privez pas de leur plus beau triomphe! Et qui pourroit vous arrêter?

Seroit-ce votre première décision? Mais en le rappelant, vous montreriez à tous les yeux, que vous ne futes alors guidés que par

tributes, the most sacred of its characters; *its inviolability*! If kings themselves lay the hand of violence upon these vicegerents of the Deity on earth, what curb, what respect can they pretend to oppose to the attempts of the people? There is no state of prosperity here below, out of the reach of time and fortune. The circle of human vicissitudes surrounds every throne. The present cause is the cause of all present and all future kings: an anointed of the Lord degraded, debased, tortured, sacrificed; can only be an object of indignation and horror for history, and of terror for kings.

In recalling Napoleon into the midst of you, let him come and find repose under the safeguard of your laws. Let these laws enjoy the splendid homage of such a mortal! Let them not be deprived of this their most glorious triumph! And what should impede your acting thus?

Can it be your first decision? In repealing that decision, you demonstrate to the whole world that you was then only acting

la force des circonstances ;
la loi de la nécessité.

Seroit-ce votre repos intérieur ? Mais la pensée en seroit insensée, le doute une injure, un outrage à vos institutions, à vos mœurs, à toute votre population.

Seroit-ce la sureté de l'Europe ? Mais les vérités de circonstance n'ont qu'un tems, et ce n'est qu'au vulgaire qu'il appartient de les perpétuer, de les mettre en avant, longtems après qu'elles m'existent plus. Napoléon, dans sa toute-puissance, pouvoit être l'effroi de l'Europe. Réduit à sa seule personne, il ne peut plus en être que l'étonnement, la méditation. Et en bonne foi, que pourroit-il aujourd'hui, même avec du pouvoir, contre la sureté de la Russie, celle de l'Autriche, de la Prusse, la votre ?

Enfin, seroit-ce ses arrières pensées qu'on pourroit craindre ? Mais Napoléon n'en a d'autres aujourd'hui que celles du repos. A ses propres yeux, dans sa propre bouche, sa prodigieuse carrière a déjà toute la distance des siècles. Il ne se croit plus de ce

under the force of existing circumstances ; the law of necessity.

Can it be your internal peace ? Such a thought would be insanity, such a doubt an injury, an outrage to your institutions, to your morals, and to your population.

Can it be the general safety of Europe ? But truths that depend upon circumstance, are only so for their day, and it is only for the vulgar to make them perpetual, or to advance them after they have, in reality, ceased to exist. Napoleon, in the omnipotence of his dominion, might have been the terror of Europe. Reduced now to his single person, he can only be the subject of wonder, and of meditation. And, in good earnest, what could he do at this day against the safety of either Russia, Austria, Prussia, or your own.

Finally, can it be the fear of any of his after-thoughts or views ? But Napoleon indulges at this time of day no other than those of repose and quiet. In his own eyes, from his own mouth, his wonderful career is as if whole ages had passed by it. He no

monde; ses destinées sont accomplies. Pour une ame d'une telle élévation, le pouvoir n'a de prix que pour conduire à la célébrité, à la gloire. Or, quel mortel en accumula davantage sur sa tête? La mesure n'en semble-t-elle pas au dessus de l'imagination des hommes? Ses revers même, n'en ont-ils pas été pour lui des sources abondantes? Existe-t-il rien de comparable au retour de l'île d'Elbe? Et plus tard, quelle apothéose que les regrets d'un grand peuple? Parmi vous, un grand nombre avez traversé nos provinces, pénétré dans nos foyers: vous connoissez nos secrets, nos sentiments. Si la patrie lui étoit moins chère que la gloire, qu'auroit-il à désirer après ce qu'il a laissé en arrière? Son âge avancé, sa santé perdue, le dégoût des vicissitudes, peut-être celui des hommes, la satiété surtout des grands objets qu'on poursuit ici bas, ne lui laisse plus rien de neuf aujourd'hui, de désirable, qu'un asyle tranquille, un heureux et doux repos. Il vous les demande, Anglais, et vous les lui devez; vous les devez à l'héroïque magnanimité avec

longer believes himself of this world; his destiny is completed. For a soul of this stamp, power has no other value than when it leads to renown and glory. What mortal has ever accumulated so great a share? Does not the measure of it seem beyond the imagination of man? His very reverses, have not these even been abundant sources of it to him? Is there any thing that can be deemed the parallel of his return from Elba? And by and by, the deification of his memory in the regrets of a great nation. Among you many have traversed our provinces, and visited our homes. You are acquainted with the secrets of our hearts, our feelings. If his country were less dear to him than his glory, what could he have to desire after what he has left behind him? His advanced age, his ruined health, the disgust of vicissitudes, and probably also of men themselves; and, above all, the satiety of the great objects which are the pursuits of us here below, leave him at this time nothing new to desire, but a quiet retreat and peaceful abode. Eng-

laquelle il vous donna la préférence sur tous ses autres ennemis. Sachez, osez, veuillez être justes. Rappelez-le, et vous aurez consacré la seule gloire qui semble manquer à votre condition présente. Les admirateurs, les vrais amis de vos libertés et de vos lois l'attendent de vous; ils le réclament. Vous avez mis en défaut ceux qui se plaisent à vanter tous les biens qui découlent de votre belle constitution.—

“ Où est donc,” disent les adversaires, avec une ironie triomphante, “ cette
 “ générosité, cette éléva-
 “ tion de sentiment, cette
 “ inflexibilité de princi-
 “ pes, cette moralité pub-
 “ lique, cette force d’opi-
 “ nion que vous nous disiez
 “ chez ce peuple libre être
 “ en quelque sorte supé-
 “ eure à la souveraineté
 “ même? Où sont les
 “ fruits tant vantés de ce
 “ sol classique des institu-
 “ tions libérales? Tout ce
 “ pompeux échaffaudage,
 “ ces peintures imaginaires,
 “ ont donc disparu devant
 “ les dangers qu’avoit fait
 “ courir un seul homme,
 “ ou bien encore devant la
 “ haine et la vengeance
 “ qu’il a laissées après lui.
 “ Et qu’auroit fait de plus

lishmen, this is what he asks from your hands, and it is due from you to him; it is due to the magnanimous preference which he gave to you above all his other enemies. Learn then, have the courage, determine to be just. Recall him, and you will have acquired the only remaining portion of glory which seems wanting to you in your present situation. The admirers, the true friends of your laws and liberty, expect this from you; they claim it. You have perplexed those who took delight in extolling the benefits derived from your admirable constitution. “ Where” (say its adversaries, with triumphant irony,) “ are we to find
 “ that generosity, that high
 “ feeling, that unbending
 “ principle, that public
 “ morality, that power of
 “ opinion, which you tell
 “ us towers among this
 “ free people, as it were,
 “ above sovereignty itself?
 “ Where are the so boasted
 “ fruits of that classic soil
 “ of liberal institutions?
 “ All this pompous parade,
 “ these imaginary displays,
 “ have disappeared before
 “ the dangers caused by a
 “ single man, or perhaps

“ ce pouvoir absolu que
 “ nous défendons et que
 “ vous décriez tant ? il eût
 “ fait moins peut-être,
 “ mais bien sûrement il
 “ n’eût pas pu faire da-
 “ vantage. Il se fût montré
 “ sensible sans doute à la
 “ noble et magnanime con-
 “ fiance de son ennemi ; ou
 “ s’il se fût décidé parce-
 “ que la chose lui eût été
 “ utile, il eût mis d’ailleurs
 “ plus d’énergie, de fran-
 “ chise, d’élévation dans
 “ son injustice. Il ne se
 “ fût pas abaissé, pour pal-
 “ lier son tort aux yeux
 “ des peuples, à y associer
 “ gratuitement ses voisins.
 “ Il eût évité surtout de se
 “ laisser envelopper dans
 “ ce dilemme accablant,
 “ où quand vous avez con-
 “ clu votre inique traité
 “ d’ostracisme, la victime
 “ n’étoit pas encore en
 “ votre pouvoir, et vous
 “ avez eu la lâcheté de lui
 “ tendre la main pour vous
 “ en saisir ; ou vous la te-
 “ niez déjà, et vous avez
 “ sacrifié votre gloire,
 “ l’honneur de votre pays,
 “ la sainteté, la majesté de
 “ vos lois, à des sollicita-
 “ tions étrangères.” An-
 “ glois, pour pouvoir répon-
 “ dre, vos amis sont obligés
 “ de se retourner vers vous ;
 “ ils attendent Pour

“ before the mere feelings
 “ which vengeance and
 “ hatred have left behind.
 “ What then would have
 “ been done by that des-
 “ potic power which we
 “ defend, and you so
 “ strongly decry ? It would
 “ probably have done less,
 “ but certainly it could
 “ not have done more. It
 “ would without doubt
 “ have shewn itself sensi-
 “ ble of the noble and
 “ magnanimous confi-
 “ dence of its enemy ; or
 “ if it had decided accord-
 “ ing to its own interest
 “ only, it would have
 “ shewn more energy,
 “ more frankness, and a
 “ higher mind in its injus-
 “ tice. It would never
 “ have debased itself in
 “ order to palliate the in-
 “ jury in the eyes of the
 “ world, to associate gra-
 “ tuitously its neighbours
 “ in the deed. Above all,
 “ it would have avoided to
 “ let itself be brought into
 “ this overwhelming di-
 “ lemma, that, when it
 “ concluded the iniqui-
 “ tous treaty of ostracism,
 “ the victim was not yet
 “ in its power, and it
 “ has had the baseness
 “ to hold out its hand
 “ to him, that it might
 “ seize on his person ; or

moi, malgré une funeste expérience de deux ans, telle est encore ma confiance en vos principes, que je compte toujours sur votre justice ; et j'ai osé parler devant vous ne consultant que mon cœur, persuadé que ce seroit du milieu de vos rangs mêmes que je verrois s'élever la défense et les talents dignes de cette grande et belle cause.

Quoique vous décidiez du reste, mes destinées à moi sont arrêtées. Où que demeure la victime, je veux aller porter à ses pieds le peu de jours qui me restent encore, et dans ce tribut du sentiment, je croirai n'avoir rien fait que pour moi. Quand je le suivis d'abord, j'obéissois plutôt à l'honneur ; je suivois la gloire. Mais aujourd'hui je pleure loin de lui toutes les qualités du cœur qui attachent l'homme à l'homme. Combien de vos compatriotes l'ont approché ! ils vous diroient tous la même chose. Qu'on les consulte ! Anglois, est-ce donc là l'homme dont on vous avoit fait la peinture ? est-ce bien avec connoissance de cause que

“ else it already had him
“ in its power, and it has
“ sacrificed its glory, the
“ honour of its country, the
“ sanctity and majesty of
“ its laws, to the sollicita-
“ tions of foreigners.” For
your defence, your friends
are obliged now to turn
their eyes towards your-
selves ; they must await .
... For my own part, in
spite of my mournful ex-
perience of two years,
such is my faith in your
principles, that I still rely
upon your justice, and I
have ventured to address
you from the dictates of
my heart alone, fully per-
suaded that the defence of
this great cause will be un-
dertaken by talents from
amidst your own ranks.

Whatever may be your
decision, my own destiny
is already fixed. Where-
ever the victim shall be
made to abide, thither
shall I proceed to lay at
his feet the few remaining
days that may yet await me,
and in offering this tribute
of my affection, I shall feel
that what I am doing is
for myself alone. When
first I followed him, I ob-
eyed the dictates of ho-
nour ; I followed his glory.

vous avez prononcé sur
son sort ?

Signé,

Le Comte de LAS CASES.

But now, far from him I deplore the loss of all those qualities of the heart which attach man to man. So many of your countrymen have approached his person ! they will all tell you the same thing. Let them be asked ! Englishmen, is this the man that has been represented to you ? Were you well and truly informed when you decided his lot ?

Signed,

The Count de LAS CASES.

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